614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[T76] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[775] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherías.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NVS Tzeltal NVS

NOTES ON THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF TZELTAL COMMUNITIES OF CHIAPAS

In February and March of 1938, Alfonso Villa Rojas made an ethnological reconnaissance of Tzeltal settlements in northeastern Chiapas, Mexico. The work was done under the auspices of Carnegie Institution of Washington as a guide to the planning of more intensive field work. San Cristobal de las Casas, where Mr. Villa arrived on the first of February, served naturally as a base. A short trip was taken to Teopizca and Amatenango, and a second to visit the ruins of San Gregorio[1] and the village of Chanal. On the fourteenth of that month, Mr. Villa started northward from Las Casas, visiting fifteen Tzeltal settlements, and then entered Chol country at Tila and left Chiapas by airplane from Salto de Agua.

In Mexico City Mr. Villa was provided with a letter of introduction from Ing. Ignacio Marquina, head of the Department of Prehistoric Monuments, of the Secretariat of Public Education. In Tuxtla Gutierrez the Governor of Chiapas, Ing. Efrain Gutierrez, received Mr. Villa and heard from him explanation of Mr. Villa's interests and purposes. Mr. Frans Blom had given Mr. Villa a letter of introduction, but the person addressed was not in Las Casas when Mr. Villa arrived. In Las Casas Mr. Villa received great help from Don José Villanueva. To all these persons who extended kindness and help, grateful acknowledgment is made. Dr. Ruth Bunzel kindly wrote information on the region to Mr. Villa before he began his journey.

The Tzeltal communities, given in the order in which they were visited and with indication of the length of time spent in each, were as follows: Amatenango (2 days), Chanal (2 days), Tenejapa (3 days), Cancuc (1 day), Oxchuc (5 days), San Martin (1 day), Tenango (2 days), Sivacá (1 day), Ococingo (6 days), Bachajon (2 days), Citalá (2 days), Guaquitepec (2½ days), Chilón (2 days), Yajalon (2 days), Petalcingo (½ day).

These villages have been the locus of a number of Indian uprisings,[2] and disturbances have occurred recently, in 1914, 1917, and 1930. Therefore the inhabitants of Spanish culture (Ladinos) are not infrequently uneasy. In Cancuc and Oxchuc Mr. Villa's work was impeded by a revival of this uneasiness, the Ladinos fearing that the celebrations of the carnival season might lead the Indians to acts of violence. With this exception, however, Mr. Villa found the Indians accessible and conditions of work favorable. The information reported herein was obtained in almost every instance from Indians, not Ladinos. Mr. Villa used an interpreter in cases where the Indians did not speak Spanish; although he has a command of Yucatec, and has done ethnological work in Yucatan,[3] he does not speak Tzeltal.

The notes Starr[4] collected on the Tzeltal in 1901 were apparently[5] obtained

[1] For a short description of these ruins see Schuman, 1936, pp. 296–298.
[2] Vicente Pineda, 1888.
[3] Redfield and Villa Rosas, [illegible]
[4] Starr, 1902.
[5] Ibid. pp. 69–72.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 456-A) Teklum

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632 It is in the context of these structural divisions that social change and its behavioral indices must be analyzed.

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182 Homicide—an act viewed as a delict in national Mexican law—has in the past two decades become an accepted strategy in social interaction. It is part of the expectations of the society upon which members predicate their own code of behavior and in terms of which [626] they react to others. Gossip not only fails to [521] suppress homicide, but serves to create a consensual base for condoning it. The corpse is re- [764] ferred to as "the one who had the guilt," *?a stukel smul*, and even when knowledge of the particular act is lacking, certain assumptions are made: the killer was someone in the community; the victim provoked the killer. In list- 682 ing crimes, informants sometimes failed to 674 mention killing, or they included it after witch- craft, theft, or adultery. Homicide is con- •[124] sidered a *reaction* to crime, not a crime in itself.

The rate is phenomenally high—up to 251.2 per 100,000 (when adjusted to bring the whole township's population of a little over 3,000 to the base for measuring international rates)—and it is increasing. This compares with national rates of 4.8 for the United States, 31.9 for Mexico (United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1964), and 36.2 for a nearby town (Favre 1964).

The following tabulation summarizes the homicides by decades since 1915, the earliest date for which records are available.

1915–1924	4
1925–1934	5
1935–1944	19
1945–1954	9
1955–1964	35

[114) Figures prior to 1950 are not apt to be accurate, for only since that time have there been adequate reporting and checking of township records. In the following tabulation, the marked increase in the annual number of homicides since 1960 represents a real increase.

1950	1	1958	1
1951	0	1959	1
1952	1	1960	4
1953	1	1961	7
1954	1	1962	6
1955	0	1963	7
1956	1	1964	4
1957	4	1965	9

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121 In order to assess the meaning of its remarkable increase during the 1960's, I have pro-

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3:Mesh E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 MW9 Tzeltal MW9
[P.458] Tekium

TABLE 1. CASE ANALYSIS OF HOMICIDES OCCURRING FROM 1938 TO 1965
(AS RECALLED FROM MEMORY BY THREE INFORMANTS)*

CASE NO.	DATE	AGE	WEAPON	WOUNDS	PLACE	TIME	SUSPECTS	MOTIVE	OUTCOME
1	1938—fiesta in neighboring town	50	pistol, machete	head cut off	in houseyard of borrowed house in neighboring town	afternoon	?	Accused of witchcraft	No one apprehended.
2	1945	65	pistol	shot between eyes	in street	night	two drinking companions (relatives of victim)	Drunken quarrel	Two companions went to jail. While in jail, with help of witch from neighboring town, set fire to four houses in pueblo.
3	1946	48	machete (brothers disarmed him of shotgun)	?	road at outskirts of town, at cross	dawn (5 A.M.)	brothers: 1 elder, 2 younger	Curer, suspected of being witch.	One brother went to jail for five years.
4	1946	45	machete	well chopped up	neighboring hamlet	?	?	"I don't know what crime he had. He was a curer."	No one went to jail.
5	1946—fiesta San Francisco	38	machete and gun	well cut up, head and neck	in woods	?	?	Accused of witchcraft.	No one complained.
6	1946	50	shotgun	?	in street	night, after curing ceremony, very drunk	?	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	Wife complained, but no witness.
7	1958	27	nail	in throat	in street	night, after curing ceremony	father of boy who died of witchcraft	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	Before dying, victim revealed name of killer, but local authorities would not arrest him. Case went to higher court, but no witnesses.
8	1960—11/28	60	machete	cut off head	in street	night, after curing ceremony	son-in-law	Accused of witchcraft by curer at ceremony for daughter.	Son-in-law fled town.
9	1960—12/18 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	28	knife, machete	heart, throat, stomach	?	?	killer paid by cattle owners	Stole cattle.	Released killer on bail of 2,500 pesos paid by cattle owners.

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3:Nah E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 MW9 Tzeltal MW9
Teklum
[P.459]

10	1960—12/18 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	60	shotgun	shot in back—bullet entered lung	houseyard, two feet from house	7 P.M., after curing ceremony	brother-in-law	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended.
11	1961—6/16	70	machete	many wounds	near highway	9 P.M., after gathering of curers	neighbors	Curer, accused by other curers of being witch causing epidemic.	Neighbors were not identified.
12	1961	35	shotgun	shot in back	highway	?	leader of political independence movement (wife's brother)	Refused to pay tribute to independence leaders.	Killer's wife (victim's sister) left husband. No one jailed. Later, killer killed by victim's brother (case 18).
13	1961—7/26 fiesta in neighboring hamlet	30	?	?	street, near cantina	late at night	wife's brother	Very abusive, fought drunks.	Wife's brother fled town.
14	1961—10/24 fiesta in neighboring hamlet	45	knife	many wounds	?	?	neighbors	Accused of being witch by neighbors.	No one apprehended.
15	1961—12/15 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	37	gun	?	cantina	late at night	?	Accused of witchcraft.	Wife agreed he was witch.
16	1962—9/25	18	?	?	?	?	rival for girl	Fought over girl.	No one accused.
17	1962—9/25	20	knife	stabs	in street	night (1 A.M.)	cattle owners	Accused of stealing cattle.	Went to jail, but released on bail put up by cattle owners.
18	1962—9/26	35	gun	shot in heart	highway	(4 P.M.)	brother-in-law's brother	Revenge—victim had killed his own brother-in-law (case 12).	Killer declared he had killed. Paid fine and went free.
19	1962—11/15 fiesta, All Saints	20	knife, gun	stabbed in heart and shot	drinking in cantina	late at night	rival for girl	Fought over girl.	No one accused.
20	1962—12/24 fiesta, Christmas Eve	50	gun	shot between eyes	road outside town	dawn (6 A.M.)	leader of cattle association	Accused of stealing cattle.	?
21	1963—4/4	36	hatchet	head	in woods, given drink by killers	5 P.M.	?	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended. Brother did some investigating.
22	1963—7/24	43	?	?	in bed	night, after curing ceremony	Curer from neighboring town	Victim had accused suspect of being a witch when curing a patient.	Nothing.

* Two more homicides were recalled for 1964 than official records show. They must probably occurred in a previous year.

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3:Mob E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 MW9 Tzeltal MW9
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[P460]

TABLE 1 (*Cont.*)

CASE NO.	DATE	AGE	WEAPON	WOUNDS	PLACE	TIME	SUSPECTS	MOTIVE	OUTCOME
23	1963—8/28 fiesta, San Augustin	?	sandals	kicked to death	in cantina	afternoon	drinking companions	Barroom brawl	One of two assailants arrested, bailed out.
24	1963—9/25	70	shotgun	forehead	in field	late afternoon	sons of man whom he was accused of having killed by witchcraft	Accused by curers in neighboring towns of having caused sickness	Nothing.
25	1964—1/2 fiesta, New Years	50	machete, gun	?	street outside house of new president	night (11 P.M.)	killer paid by brothers	Accused of stealing cattle	Brother fled, but was jailed when he returned.
26	1964—3/3 Carnival	34	gun, machete	chopped up with machete	street, one block from house	night (11 P.M.)	?	Accused of witchcraft by neighbors.	No one accused.
27	1964—5/11	50	gun	forehead	highway	afternoon	Ladino liquor distiller, not of community	Victim had denounced distiller to federal authorities.	No one accused.
28	1964—9/1	30	gun	?	milpa, after his brothers gave him drink	afternoon	his brothers	Accused of witchcraft.	One brother fled. The other was jailed but claimed the first one did it.
29	1964—9/14	65	knives	many knife wounds	street, three blocks from house	late at night, after gathering of curers	curers	Curer, accused by other curers of being witch causing epidemic.	No one accused.
30	1964	22	?	?	eight meters from his house	night (1 A.M.)	close friend, hired by cattle owners, brothers of killer	Accused of stealing cattle.	Freed on bail.
31	1965—2/14	42	machete	head cut off	road to neighboring hamlet	night (3 A.M.)	?—at first thought it was wood spirit, until they found head	?	No one accused.
32	1965—2/22	45	knife, stone	stabbed in heart, head bashed	street near house	night	?	Accused of witchcraft by neighbors.	No one accused.
33	1965—3/21 Carnival	45	shotgun	?	street	night	?	Accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended.

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34	1965 4/24	27	gun	?	found in woods, body dragged there from town	night (1 a.m.)	brother-in-law	He had relations with 14 year-old sister in-law. When he tried reconciliation, became drunk, abusive	No witness, no blood found in in laws' house.
35	1965 5/30 fiesta, just before San Francisco	35	shotgun	three shots entered back	road	afternoon	?	Stole cattle, corn.	Killers left note saying old man did it, but no one believed it.
36	1965 8/13	42	machete	head severed, side wounds	road to milpa	6 p.m.	son by first marriage	Failed to help son get a wife; accused by dying wife of causing her death by witch craft.	Widow spread rumors that it was [illegible] son, but refused to testify.
37	1965 10/?	20	shotgun	back	in houseyard	6 p.m.	rival for girl	Accident - killer mistook him for his brother, who was challenging killer's suit for a girl.	?

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P.466-A] Teklum

625 The "police force", made up of ten
626 Indians of the town who served without pay for a year, acted as errand boys more than as guardians of public safety. The townspeople conformed to the cultural code of behavior because of a sense that their welfare was being cared for.

626 More recently, the breakdown of certain
178 structural features and competition between
75 new and old leaders have undermined non-
[128] violent methods for the maintenance of social control. These changes will be discussed in terms of (1) the organization of the curing profession, (2) conflict between the curers and the civil authority, and (3) how both the curing profession and the civil authority are affected by the breakdown of the old dual division of the town.

[124] *(1) Organization of the curing profession.* Perception of structural changes in the curing profession and their effect on attitudes are indicated in the following statement by an informant:

> Formerly there were not many curers. Only two—one in the low side and the other in the high side. They alone spoke together. They walked every night, looking and watching over the pueblo to see that no illness was brought in, checking to see who was bringing it and to see if there was any illness of God [reference to contagious diseases]. They saw which of the children had a soul [reference to the third soul, the swayoßel or animal spirit, which gives the power to cure and to do evil].
>
> [194] If anyone wanted to be cured, they bathed them, cured them, and in a little while people got better because there was good illness only. If later on it turned into a disease of the devil, with their animal spirit they seized the force of the illness.
>
> When there was a contagious disease, and a witch "brought heat," and the children began to die, the two curers alone consulted and waited to see who had brought the evil and where they lived. One of them went to the town hall and gave an account of the fact that they had taken care of the evil and gotten rid of it. It was not necessary to gather together the pueblo—only the two knew what was the matter and how to care for it.
>
> The [two] leader curers of each [illegible]on [*stalal ?u?ulatik*] alone ordered other curers. No one else could enter curing until permitted by the leaders. They continued in power until they died, and then one of the younger curers took over.
>
> Beginning in 1940, more curers started to enter on their own accord. The elder curer had died, and his successor was not recognized. People saw that someone could pulse, and so they would ask him to cure.
>
> Now when there is an epidemic, the president

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

539 Lacandone prayer in Tozzer's "Comparative Study of the Maya and Lacandones," page 169. As *tsar*, which a Ladino would probably give as *tsak*, means "red" in Tzeltal, the two words may be taken to be the same. *bak* means "bone," and *tci* means "blood." Many of these translations are doubtful, and all of them together do not suffice to explain the text.

II.

hun ahau bitskilim gravilan yokivin-wits yevakinok . . .

This also begins with Hun Ahau. *wits* means "hill." Beyond that no translation could be obtained.

• 424 The whole material on medicine and shamans is very slight and unsatisfactory. Indeed it is doubtful whether anything could be learned save after a long stay and much patient work, so secretive are the Indians on this subject, and so suspicious of inquiries. What we have is presented here in the hope that it may prove useful for comparative purposes, and offer suggestions to any worker going into this field.

796 178 According to Nuñez de la Vega, the old calendar was still current in his time. Starr* quotes a Zotzil Calendar of eighteen months, and Pineda† gives a Tzeltal calendar of both months and days. We asked in the different villages what names were given 424 to the days, and were told always the Spanish names, as also for 796 the months. This may well have been from unwillingness to impart 178 ceremonial information, but consistent replies, plus the statement of various Ladinos who knew the Indians well, incline me to believe that if the old calendar is known at all, it is known only to a very few of the most learned shamans. Feasts, as far as could be made out, are controlled entirely by the cycle of Christian saint's days. However, the Maya year might well have been by now adjusted to the Gregorian, and a time-count actually kept in the old style be stated for public purposes in the terms of the new. Pineda's calendar is adapted from one published by his father† some forty years earlier, but he speaks of it as being still current.

114 178 796 Seler also doubts the modernity of Pineda's calendar. In his article "Der Festkalender der Tzeltal und der Maya von Yucatan" (1898), he brings together various interesting statements. Of them, one may be applied to this survey. Emeterio Pineda he quotes as saying that the sixth month, Olalte, is the time of planting. This would be in April of our year, or the end of April and early May,

*Starr, 1903—Pineda, Vicente, 1888.
†Pineda, Emeterio, 1845.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

that he was invited into her house, presumably to take shelter from the evening rain that was beginning to fall. The house, of which he sketched a hurried plan (fig. 324) was more rectangular than is usual, the prevailing type being square with a pyramidal roof. He entered through a low doorway, closed with a wooden door on leather hinges. Although the ridge of the roof was high, the many cross poles reaching from the top of one wall to the other made it necessary to stoop. The writer squatted by the door, facing the fire, which smoked merrily in the closed room. The old woman immediately set to shaping a pile of tortillas for baking. Along either wall was a well-made bench, decorated with notches along the top and geometric designs on the back, similar to the benches on the Cabildo porch (fig. 325). These and a sturdy table that was stored on top of the stringers were said to be purely local products. By the door stood a big jar, a full meter in height, crude and undecorated (fig. 326). There was the usual collection of ollas and gourds, and one other new form, an open-mouthed pot about eight centimeters high and as many in diameter, flat bottomed, with a handle on one side, called *hütc* (fig. 327). In the thick smoke, it was hard to see anything. I was interested to note that my hostess' eyes watered nearly as much as my own. In the darker end of the house I could make out corn stacked neatly along one wall, and a partition that presumably hid the beds. For a while the woman answered the few questions that I could make her understand by means of signs, my half-a-dozen words of Tzeltal,

FIG. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Drinking scaffold.

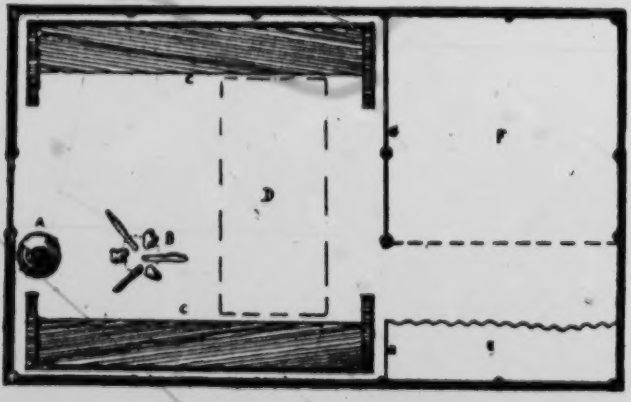

FIG. 324—Cancuc, Chis. Plan of House.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

124 and her three words of Spanish. Then she grew hostile, answering
123 everything with a plaintive *"Ma snaa,"* "I don't know." This went on for two or three minutes, then suddenly she flung open the door and waved me out with no uncertain gesture, saying something about the "Presidente Municipal," and the "Secretario." By this time it was pouring cats and dogs, but there was nothing to do save run for it.

284 Cancuc is not noted for any product. There are about the same
322 arts and industries as at other towns, but the only ones that amount to anything like a specialty are netmaking and whittling combs. The combs are better and more neatly made than those of the Bachajon, and with a selection of the wood for grain that often produces very pretty combinations. The nets are made by the men, who

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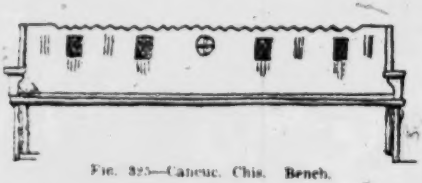

[415]
→

Fig. 325—Cancuc. Chis. Bench.

Fig. 327. Cancuc, Chis. Pottery. Hiite. (8 c.m. high).

Fig. 326—Cancuc, Chis. Tall Jar. (1 m. high).

go about rolling the twine or knitting as they walk. The process was described in the last chapter.

485 Being on the main highway, the government maintains a long shed, like a wagon-shed, thatched with leaves and grass, which is at the disposal of travelers. This relieves the Maestro of duties of entertainment. Towards nightfall, various groups came into camp here, a family of Mexicans, with a big fire, and goods piled high, two traders with their packs, some Chamulas, fine-looking men dressed in white wool tunics, with flowing cotton kerchiefs round their heads, and a couple of Tenejapeños with nets full of apples. The Chamulas, who are remarkably progressive Indians, had come in with a string of mules. After dark, the line of fires in the divisions of the shed, the talk, the fire-lit figures in their varied costumes, with the Church and houses rising on the terraced hill behind made as picturesque and charming a scene as one could possibly imagine.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

194
193 This *r* I have heard and recorded in the same word in different lists, particularly among the Tzeltal; e. g., *kere* (boy). It is rare, occasionally confused with *l*, but quite forcible when present. It has a short, hard trill, not unlike the Japanese, made with the forward part of the tongue against the roof of the palate.

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal	Lateral	Trill
Velar	—	q	—	—	—	—	—
Palatal	—	k	k'	H	—	—	—
Alveolar	—	t	t'	s	n	l	—
Dorsal	g	—	—	x	ñ	—	r
Nasal	—	—	—	—	n	—	—
Dental	—	ts tc	ts' tc'	j c	—	—	—
Labial	b	p	p'	v	m	—	—
Glottal	'	—	—	—	—	—	—

Breath, *h*. Semi-vowels, *w* and *y*.

q, the velar *k*, is formed between the back of the tongue and the soft palate. Palatal *k* is as in English. The fortis, *k'*, is made as the *k*, followed by a strong explosion of breath. The various fortis sounds may be similarly described in relation to their respective surds.

H is an intensified *h* sound, resembling the Mexican pronunciation of *x* in "Mexico," or *g* in "gente."

The dorsal *x* resembles *ch* in German "ach," but with less aspiration.

g is rather faint, as in Spanish "agua."

ñ is the *ng* in English "ring."

tc is the *ch* in English "child."

c is the *sh* in English "shoot."

The lateral *l* is accompanied by a slight breathing, giving it a thick sound.

j is pronounced as in French "jamais."

Vowels. On comparing the vowel sounds listed here with those of other writers, it seems possible that I have made too fine distinctions. However, the new vowels were found to occur with great regularity, and in several cases I was corrected by my informants for changing them to the nearest approximate standard form, as, in pronouncing Yocotan *kE-* as *kĕ*, or the sound I have represented by *O* as *o*. Unmarked vowels have their Spanish sounds, *a* as in "pan," *e* as in "me" (not as in "metate"), *i* as in "bonita," *o* as in "lodo," but *u* is pronounced as *oo* in English "good." In addition there is a long *a* (*ā*) as in English "father," short *e* (*ĕ*) as in Eng-

[124]
[126]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

194
193 lish "met," short *i* (*ĭ*) as in English "mix," long *u* (*ū*) as *oo* in English "boot," and short *u* (*ŭ*) as in English "hut." *E* represents a sound between *ă* and English *er* in "water." *O* is a sound like English "or" said while holding the mouth for *u*. Diphthongs are *ai*, *oi* and *au*.

Double vowels are always to be pronounced separately, the second having a slightly shorter quantity than the first.

Accent is indicated by ´ in those words in which the stress does not fall on the last syllable.

000 INFORMANTS. The Chontal List was taken down by Mr. William Gates from two pure-blooded Indians of Tecoluta, Tabasco. It was made at Comalcalco. Mr. Gates' spelling has been revised to accord with the other lists, as far as possible.

Two Yocotan lists were made, the first, from José Hernandez, a young Indian of San Fernando, Tabasco, at Macuspana. The second was given, together with the ethnographic information, by Lázaro Hernandez Guillermo, a man of forty or forty-five, also of San Fernando; he had a little Ladino blood on his mother's side. This man, although illiterate, was remarkably intelligent, and was by all odds the best informant that we had in the course of the trip. The list was made at leisure on board the steamer, and he was by that time thoroughly at home with us, and acquainted with our methods and wishes. He showed some, limited, ability to analyze his own grammatical forms.

• 124 The first Tzeltal list was given by Sebastiano Guzman, a Bacha-
126 jon shaman, at El Encanto in Chiapas. It was supervised by Don
115 Arturo Tovilla, who was thoroughly conversant with the language. The second was given, also at El Encanto, by Fidencio Morales, a Ladino house-boy from Ocosingo, who was not satisfactory. The third was taken down from Don Ciriaco Aguilar at Bachajon. Señor Aguilar had been assisting in Ethnological work for over two weeks, and spoke Tzeltal fluently. He was assisted by a volunteer committee of Indians and Ladinos.

000 The Chaneabal list was compiled at El Puente, near Comitan, from an Indian estimated at thirty-five years of age, called Casimiro Gomez. He was moderately satisfactory.

Two Jacalteca lists were made. The first, at Jacaltenango in Guatemala, was given by Santiago Hernandez, a middle-aged Indian of doubtful purity, with occasional help from other Indians. He was literate, fairly intelligent, and enthusiastically coöperative. The second was hastily taken down at Concepción. It was begun by Alonzo Rafael Alvebal, pure-blood, about thirty years old, who

121 of beverage alcohol is functional or dysfunctional depends on
273* socio-cultural contexts which need to be uncovered in every next case in which such use is investigated. A description of the relation of drinking patterns to their socio-cultural context, then, contributes to a steadily growing but still inadequate ethnographic literature without which further cross-cultural perspective will be lacking.

121 The present investigation is devoted to a detailed state-
123 ment of how alcohol is used in Aguacatenango. The bulk of the data herein reported came as the result of participant observa-
124 tion for extended periods in Aguacatenango. Some material on the drinking patterns of individuals was gathered in interviews conducted by transcribing informants. These interviews were special Tzeltal conversations in which Pedro Juárez and Mariano Juárez separately read off or otherwise repeated questions directing the respondent to report some aspect of his experience with drinking.

124 Of all the questions which could be asked, we selected
125 seven which are reported by our informants to occur frequently in conversation about drinking and which men answer about themselves if they are asked. Our two transcribing informants then asked these questions of seventy-six men in town. The procedure was simply to ask each person a question, listen to his response, and then write down in Tzeltal a "synopis" of the response. The

124 Tzeltal and nearest English equivalents are listed below:
125

1. HAY C'OH KAWUC' TRAWO TA HUN *U? TU *ORA HATE LA *AWUC' IXE?

   How many times a month do you drink? When did you last drink?

2. HAYE* K'AHAL KAWUC' HUHUN YAKBELE?

   How many days do you drink on each drunk?

3. TUT'IL X LIHK *AWUC'.

   How did you begin to drink?

4. ME ZAM YA XNEL AWU*UN YA XYAK'UBATE, ME MA*YUK TA PLETO, ME MA*YUK YA*BAT CAMEL?

   Do you drink contentedly? Do you fight? Do you get sick?

5. ME YA SOL AWUN *IP, ME TENEX YUZIL KAWUC' *A.

   Do you drink in excess, or do you drink a proper amount?

6. ME YA YA*BAT CAMEL?

   Do you get sick?

7. TUT'A CAMELIL LA YA*BAT?

   What illness did you get?

125 Such a set of question frames as the above could obviously be expanded to include a wider variety of behavior related to drinking. The present set was used simply to provide evidence for the observation that drinking patterns are "important" in Aguacatenango--importance being measured in terms of the reports of the number of persons engaging in this behavior, the amount of

125 time they spend and the perceived consequences of the behavior. The evidence is inferential; it does not express actual times spent at drinking, actual payments for drinking, nor actual [124] quantities of alcohol consumed. Since the questions and responses were Tzeltal, the reports are at least appropriate in local terms.

126 In addition to the above data, a great deal of material on social roles and their relation to drinking and on the general beliefs and patterns of action in drinking performances has been extracted from native language texts. The text constitute a number of conversations between individuals in Aguacatenango, recorded on tape and then transcribed and translated into Spanish 124 by a bilingual informant. The conversations were at first unfocused; later, I instructed the informant who initiated all of the conversations to elicit a description of a recent illness in [121] the household of the other party. Drinking was not at that time my major interest, but its frequency and its close association with illness brought up the subject in over half of the conver- 126 sations. The taped records were made in a variety of settings 124 and under a range of constraining conditions; my general strategy was to go from house to house with my informant and to record his conversation with whoever was present and willing to talk. The best of the records share the feature that at least two Aguacatenangeros were present in the recording setting and knew

126 • 124 [122] that they were present. I took no active part in the recording, since I could not speak Tzeltal and did not know the appropriate range of responses that the communication called up in the participants. None of the records are expressions of communication that would have taken place had I not chosen to make records. That is, the sessions were always initiated by me with the express intent of making records. This is reflected in the records by discussion of the tape recorder, of my performances associated with it, and so on. In addition, the content of some of the records is focused, as I have mentioned, on recent illnesses in the household. By and large, however, to some unmeasured and thus unknown degree, the communications in the records are reflexes of pressures on the speakers that endure far longer than the recording session, that are structured by the variable modes of linguistic expression, by the internal coherence of the domains of "content" that became the subject of the conversation, by recent experiences which are structured by the content of the domains, and by the previously well-defined social relationships existing between the speakers. Some evidence that the relationship between the informant and the other party to the conversation helped to structure the recorded communications is presented in a report to the National Science Foundation (Metzger 1961). Briefly the length of the conversation--i.e., the total number of words--was greater when the informant knew and/or liked the

124 126 other party than when he did not; the proportion of the total number of words which was spoken by the other party was greater when that person was older than the informant than when he was the same age, and younger persons spoke, relatively, even less. The frequent use of various terms of respect and ritual kinship between the informant and the other speaker also suggests that their other behavior in the recording situation takes these relationships into account.

12 [191] Our bilingual informant, Mariano Juarez, was trained in the field by N. A. McQuown in the phonemic transcription of Tzeltal. When he had completed the transcription of the tapes, I instructed him to produce a translation in which the translation equivalents were to be forced into the Tzeltal frame of reference insofar as possible, using the vernacular Spanish as he knew it. The examples of text which appear herein should be understood to be Mr. Juarez' work. The fact that a native speaker of Tzeltal, who knew the general and idiosyncratic contexts in which the Tzeltal material appeared, did the translating guarantees as accurate a translation as possible. The always knotty problem of English glosses involves not only the depth of my understanding of the vernacular Spanish and its relation to the Tzeltal, but also the more general point, made recently by Conklin (1963), that the structure of English domains stands in no necessary relationship to the structure of domains of any other language. Frake (1961),

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HA* Z'INABI; *OC KUC' SOK, Z'INABI.

Then I entered into drinking with him.

LAH Z'IN TE HUN KWARTA Z'IN HC'IN-KA*ALTIK Z'INE.

We finished a cuarto of aguardiente.

HK'AN HUN XAN KWARTA KU*N *EHUK.

I ordered another cuarto for my part.

KUC' SOK Z'INABI.

I drank this with him.

KON SOK Z'INABI YUKUBEL XAN, TAL XAN YAN WINIKETIK.

With that the drunk began, other men came.

LIHK HZOB HBAHTIK XAN...

We began to gather together again . . .

MUK'UBIX LO*L *ABI.

(The drinking situation) began to come out bigger.

Solitary drinking is rare. Speaking of one Antonio who has come repeatedly to his friend's house, already drunk, and has finally gone off alone, Carmen Espinoza laughs:

*E MA*Y SHOY XC'IN-TUKEL, HE-HE-HE-HE-!

And he doesn't have a companion, he's all by himself! Ha, ha, ha.

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The most frequent response to the question, "How do you begin to drink?" was "when someone invites me." The invitation may come from brothers, compadres, "friends" or "companions" (these classes, as I have noted, tend to intersect in the same

273* 539 C. HA* HAL ME*L HLO*LIWANEH XINAN HAL YA X BEN LI* I.

That's that lying ladina who comes up here.

M. *E *AWA* MA* BA TUTA SPAS HNUXUK.

And he says that it didn't help him at all.

C. *E TEY *A YUN SZ'IHK TE*K YUN C'IN HUNUK HA*WIL *A E, *IL C'IN CE* OXE*K'AHAL HONC TAK.

It should at least keep him from drinking for a year, and he only lasted two or three days.

M. *E YUN TONC *ANC TA *AWO*TAN LA *AZ'IK *EHK *ABI, XKUT, *E YU*NIX *A XCI.

"Well, you only stop if you want to," I told him. "Yes," he said.

HINX *A MA YUNUK LA YILA LA STUK YO*TAN I, YUN TONC LA SZ'IK.

"Yes, my heart didn't reject the aguardiente, I willed not to drink."

273* One of the reasons why men may avoid drinking on succeeding days is economic. As drinking continues, there is a tendency to water the aguardiente, prolonging the drinking cycle by reducing the per person unit cost. Nevertheless, men go into debt to buy aguardiente and must often seek work outside the community in order to pay what they owe. [426]

273* 124 Other reasons are suggested by the questions and responses of the survey. Fifty-four men reported that they became ill as a result of drinking--and illness following drinking appears very frequently in the texts. Eleven men reported that, at least occasionally, they are involved in fights while drinking. Fifty-two

273* of the seventy-six men reported that they drink "in excess" rather
• 124 than "a proper amount." This contrast seems to be based not primarily on moral principles, but rather on a belief that the state of deep drunkenness which most men reach when they drink in-
128 volves hazards to life and well-being. In the two chapters which follow, I shall describe some of these hazards--conflict and illness--along with the ways of dealing with them, in more detail.

121 one reason most "primitive" belief syatems require so much pressure before they can be brought under our documentary rules.

The beginnings of a theory of illness for Aguacatenango

In order to develop a theory of illness, one must have a way for directing the informant's attention to this domain or focus; or, alternatively, the ethnographer must be able to detect in the set of observables he has available to him, those which are, to some extent, conditioned by the salience of illness in one or another of its forms to the performers. In the present case we depend upon verbal contexts to establish relevance from the informant's point of view, and we use verbal contexts to test non-simulated performances in order to determine the salience of illness in the record of any situation we may be examining. One general measure of relevance is expressed in the Tzeltal question: /TUT LA SPAS/ "What happened to him" literally "What was he doing?" A further probe such as: /TUT+A CAMELIL YA YA*I*/ "What illness does he feel?" if it can be made relevant, is fairly likely to put the observer into the domain of illness as it is being experienced by some participant. If the illness is a non-simulated performance, further eliciting will produce further reports of states relevant in that domain. If the illness is a simulated performance, further well controlled eliciting will produce further relevant responses to

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124 the initial simulated performance. Such material, in conjunc-
753 tion with texts, constitutes the basis for the following survey of beliefs about illness.

753 The conditions which precede the onset of illness are many and varied. While some of them are known to be antecedent to illness in the sense that if an individual experiences one of these conditions the probability is increased that he will become ill, there are nonetheless many conditions which become diagnostic of the illness only after the individual defines himself and is defined as being ill. Types of experiences which lead the individual to anticipate illness include either becoming angry or being an object of anger; experiencing extreme fright, as when one has had dreams, or has seen the image of some malevolent non-human force (i.e., a ladino dressed in black riding a tall horse); and drinking aguardiente. These and similar experiences carry permanent associations with illness; the individual expects to become ill and often does so. Conditions which are used to explain illness only after-the-fact tend to be more properly theoretical in that they explain at once the necessary and sufficient conditions for some non-hypothetical occurrence of some disease process.

Among the after-the-fact explanations one finds statements such as, "the patient is suffering from soul loss, his soul presently residing in the Owner of the Cave's soul pool."

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The following list of moral transgressions is roughly ordered in terms of the egregiousness of the crime: witchcraft, theft of cattle, theft of corn, "talking with" a woman (this is a euphemism for having an affair), having more than one wife, killing, and disrespect to parents. There is a fair amount of consistency in the rank order given by different informants. Of five people questioned, all ranked witchcraft first, and theft, without qualification as to what was stolen, second. Subjects questioned differentiated the crime of "talking with" a woman according to the status of the woman —it was worse to have relations with a married woman than with an unmarried girl or with a widow. Killing was listed late or not at all by some because it is assumed that the killer has cause unless the contrary is proved. The dead man is referred to as the guilty one. It is considered worse to kill a consanguineous relative than an affinal relative or a nonrelative. One man remarking on an incident in which a person lost his bull said: "It was a punishment of God for killing his father. If it had been his stepfather, it would be different." Wanton killing is said to be absent in the pueblo, and something that the kurik of the colonias do. The three murders in the past ten years resulting from barroom brawls between "friends" have not dispelled this notion.

Disrespect shown to parents is considered a serious violation of morality. A boy who refuses to listen to his father cannot expect to receive the protection and support of his parents, usually offered a child throughout their lifetime, or of the community. If the son abuses his father verbally or physically in public, the father is supported in whatever action he takes. One father, whose son kicked him in one of the local bars, drew applause when he made the sign of the cross in two deep gashes with his machete on his son's forehead. To beat one's father or mother is a great sin, but to beat one's wife is tolerated, particularly if it is done in drunkenness. If a man other than the husband beats a woman for any cause, she may reciprocate by beating him in court "before the eyes of the judges." One woman who was awarded this privilege when her husband's brother beat her said, "If he were my own husband, it would be all right for him to beat me."

The good man is "of one heart" and reveals it by his humility ("very soft heart"). The rules for demonstrating this are given by an old man who is frequently asked to be a nakawane in his section of the dual divi-

114 The previous mentioned sources of information will be
128 utilized for background of the study.

The actual data pertaining to the two communities under scrutiny is derived from the following sources: (1) Aguacatenango field-notes, prepared by Duane and Barbara Metzger in the year 1956; (2) Aguacatenango field-notes prepared by the Metzgers and myself during 1958, summer session; (3) my Master's paper on Residence Patterns in Aguacatenango (Verbitsky, 1959b); (4) Amatenango reports prepared by June and Manning Nash, with the assistance of Joan Ablon during 1958-59; (5) the subsequent writings of the Nashes and Metzgers, published, and unpublished but available in mimeographed form for consultation.

125 Whenever it was possible, the data were collected quanti-
124 tatively. The section on residence was based on a formal questionnaire, checked for reliability with informal interviews with the same and other informants. This questionnaire was applied by the Nashes to 280 households in Amatenango and by myself to 68 in Aguacatenango. The residence analysis of Amatenango was prepared by June Nash (1959) with methods comparable to those utilized by me in my Master's paper. (Both used comparable analytical procedures.)

124 Other data were collected by direct questioning about particular subjects and analyzed and contrasted with case histories on the same topic.

Complete genealogies of the two villages were utilized for placing individual histories in the context of the family and other social relations.

124 In both villages, several households were visited regularly and interaction observed in detail. From this, and the informants own impressions, we obtained data on the activity schedules, the affective content of relationships between household members, the allocation of authority within the unit, and the relations of the household members with individuals belonging to other domestic groups.

126 To define degrees of territorial propinquity between households and household members, each household genealogy was placed on a map of the village.

128 The present analysis of data, unless otherwise stated in the text, is only mine. Any mistakes of interpretation are my sole responsibility.

and, in fostering social intercourse, it frees them of other constraints. With the usual inhibitions removed, the social interaction following the ceremony allows the investigator to see below the surface.

We have many structural-functional descriptions of the civil-religious hierarchy of highland Maya Indian communities (Adams, 1957; Cámara Barbachano, 1952; Cancian, 1964; McArthur, 1961; Siverts, 1960, 1964; Tax, 1964; Vogt, 1965; Zabala Cubillos, 1961). The roles and functions of the hierarchy are at least minimally described in the many community studies of the area (Bunzel, 1952; Guiteras Holmes, 1961; LaFarge, 1947; LaFarge and Byers, 1931; M. Nash, 1955; Tax, 1947a,b; Valladares, 1957; Wagley, 1949; Wisdom, 1940). We have, as well, historical summaries of the colonial and independence developments (Aguirre Beltrán, 1953; Carrasco, 1952, 1961; Chávez Orozco, 1943). In previous summaries of the structure and functioning of the hierarchies, however, systematic descriptive data on performances are mostly lacking. Vogt (1965, p. 42) has indicated the value of observing behavior as a "reliable operational measure for determining rank" in Zinacantan. Cross-community comparison of institutions would be facilitated by such behavioral data. For example, the recurrent descriptive phrase "closely integrated civil-religious hierarchy" covers a spectrum of behavioral and ideological components which ranges from one in which officials of both ladders are linked by a series of sacred acts, functions and personnel, to one in which there is independent and exclusive participation. These generalizations can be broken down to a series of acts in which they are expressed. If comparison over time or between communities is to be meaningful, we must look to the descriptive detail which went into such generalizations.

For any scheduled event such as a ritual, three sources of data are available: the expectations of what will happen, the case histories of similar events in the past, and the observation of the event. In tapping the first of these, I have used the technique developed by Metzger and Williams (1963) in formal ethnographic analysis.[8] In this approach the informant co-

[8] I am indebted to Duane Metzger for training in these methods, and to discussions with him, Brent Berlin, and Paul Kay which helped me in working out the observation schedule.

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operates with the ethnologist in framing questions in his own language. Within a chronological framework, questions of who is doing what, when, where, how, and why are asked for each activity. The same set of questions can be asked of several informants in this phase of the investigation. This method yields understanding of the cultural models of behavior, the expectation patterns which are the charters for action. But because it restricts the stimuli in order to provoke predictable responses, the investigator runs the risk of getting only stereotyped responses, and the informants often become acculturated to the questioner's categories. We can elicit imitative or predictive behavior, but learning about innovating behavior, the "techniques," or "what to do when" (Wallace, 1964, p. 19), requires that the informant have a chance to express himself freely. Unsolicited comments and anecdotes provided by the informants as they grew bored in the formal analysis were recorded along with the responses to questions posed. These data are fed into the model.

The second source of data—concrete cases which the informant has experienced in the past—indicates the range of variation in performance, the sources of innovation, and the development of strategies. This kind of information is supplemented by observation of the event. At this phase of the investigation, particularly if one is prepared by eliciting prior to the event, the ethnologist can see in the enactment of roles the nuances of gesture and pose which indicate affect. The emotional attitudes towards things, people, and activities, which often cannot be verbalized, become apparent in the performance.

If we accept the fact that there is not a single "homemade model" of the society (Levi-Strauss, 1962, p. 324) but several, we are prepared to probe the several levels of awareness present in the actors' mode of orienting to the world. At one level cultural understandings may be explicitly formulated, at another they may be implicit in language categories, and finally they may be derived only from nonverbal patterns of behavior. The informant's statements are inadequate insofar as they may stem from (1) ideological lag such that new behavior has not been assimilated in a cognitive frame, (2) inadequate generalization such that connections between related systems of thought and action are omitted, and (3) failure by the anthropologist to interpret what the informant was telling him. The anthropologist's model of behavior is a synthesis and elaboration of the in-

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9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

formants' conscious understandings as well as of their subconscious patterns of behavior.

Description of behavior requires a theoretical approach to the problems of segmenting activity streams, selecting events, and ordering them. Too large chunks of behavior are not useful in comparisons made over time in the same society or between societies. However, because human (as well as animal) behavior is characterized by motivation and cognition (Tolman, 1961) we cannot expect to isolate minimal units which are invariant from one context to another. Verbs, as French (1954, p. 162) points out, are one-act plays in which a change of dramatis personae creates entirely new meaning. Furthermore, the symbolic weight of a single act varies; it can encompass the history of an institution, such as crossing oneself, or it can establish identification with a social movement, such as raising a clenched fist. However, for any behavioral schema, which I define, following Piaget, as component acts structured in an organized totality (Flavell, 1963, p. 54), it is possible to segment acts and assess their significance. In the major schema of the inauguration of officials in Tzo?ontahal, place, time, and roles are the bases for structuring related sets of activities.

Segmenting human behavior has been treated as either an actor-oriented or an observer-oriented problem. Pike (1954) and Adams (1962) rely on informants' advice to isolate the "behavioreme," whereas Harris (1964, p. 367 ff.) rejects the actor's statement of goals in favor of the investigator's own definitions of action units. If the "basic unit of action in the human body is purposive motion" (Burke, 1962, p. 61), then we must consider the meaning of action at the first stage of an analysis.[4] The anthropological observer's segmentation at this point injects cultural bias which stems from his point of view (Hymes, 1964, p. 14; Spier and Sapir, 1930, p. 217). Since our

[4] Most verbs used by informants in describing action patterns imply purpose. The informant says that he "eats," not that he raises food to his mouth and masticates it. The coding of motives and goals in the verbs underlines the importance of eliciting in the performer's own language. For example, when one observes the Indians as they enter the townhall, one sees them kneel and do what could be interpreted as crossing themselves. Asked what they do, the informants reply, "We measure our noses (*sp'is sni?ik*)." Measuring water (*sp'is ha?*) is another important ceremonial act. This suggests the possible ceremonial significance of measure in ceremonial performances. To assume knowledge of the act because of its similarity to Catholic forms might rule out suggestions requiring deeper probing. Cf. Adams' (1962) distinction between the reported and the observed act, and Barker (1963).

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informants cannot, fortunately, be relegated to the role of rats in the maze of their own cultural settings. I prefer the actor's to the investigator's statement of significantly contrasting units. I have found it useful, however, to retain both modes of analysis. Observation corrects for the shorthand statements of the informant, for his lapses of memory, or for inadequate knowledge. Even if some of these inadequacies are corrected by other informants, there remains the problem as to what is an individual understanding and what is socially shared knowledge. In addition, observation provides cues to the dynamic variables which enter into all social processes.

It is impossible, if not irrelevant, to recount all the behavior occurring in an event. Some of the selection will be fortuitous: we will record what aspects we observe. But not all of this need be included. For example, one would exclude the trips to the back of the patio to urinate by participants in a household ritual, but what might well be recorded is the etiquette with which they undertake these trips. In Tzo?ontahal, people carefully excuse themselves, saying, "I go before your face," specifying that they must urinate. Discretion requires explicitness rather than reticence in reference to such urges, perhaps because of the paranoic fears, particularly during curing ritual, that the one who is departing may be using counter-healing magic when he leaves the group.

There is no absolute rule to guide one in selection. In my own field notes, I note what is significant in terms of my own comprehension of goals being pursued. Having been cued into most of the activity in sessions with the informants prior to the event, I have

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9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

some basis for perceiving actions significant to them. 121

Selection in the eliciting session is only partly controlled by the interviewer. The problem is not only to prod the informant for greater specificity, but to structure the recall by such devices as having him draw maps of person-place relations or kinship diagrams so that details will not be lost. As informants gain a sense of the problems being posed, they tend to become self-stimulating in providing information. 124 •

Finally, the problem of ordering a description of behavior is usually handled most efficiently in a chronological sequence. Simultaneous events can be described in terms of a sequence of activities occurring in different settings. This facilitates the analysis of time and space as designates of role relationships. 121

The analysis in Section 1 deals with the cognitive frame of reference concerning roles and relationships in the civil and religious hierarchies as elicited from informants using the method of formal analysis. Section 2 concerns the behavior in the ritual inaugurations of civil and religious officials in which these role structures are both exemplified and modified. Data are derived from the three sources defined above, i.e., expectations as to what will happen, performances in the past, and observation of the event in process. In Section 3 divergences between elicited and observed schedules (Appendices 1 and 2) are analyzed in terms of their significance for social change. Data derived from "informal" analysis, or unstructured interviewing of informants, are fed into the model. Finally, the behavioral data are summarized in terms of structural functional explanations and in terms of their implications for change. 121 128

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MY ELICITING PROCEDURES are described to make explicit the steps in constructing the informant's cognitive model. The first responses given by an informant are most often those which have the greatest significance within a structured system of priorities or of dominance. For example, informants in Tzo?ontahal invariably listed the officials in order of primacy. Another clue to the structuring of social relations is the omission of data in the first interview. This can mean either repression of information or lack of significance for the informant as an individual or for the society. These factors can be sorted out in subsequent interviews.

When asked, "What are all the kinds of offices in Tzo?ontahal," informants replied, "offices in the *kabiltu,* or townhall, and offices in the *č'ulna,* holy house or church. The question, "What are the kinds of officials in the townhall?" elicited the following three categories: *alkaletik,* alcaldes or judges; *rehiroletik,* regidores; and *mayoletik,* mayores or policemen. These categories are ranked relative to each other; for example, *alkaletik* is of greater prestige (*mas mamališ,* senior), *rehiroletik* next, and *mayoletik* least. Thus there are in the *alkaletik* category: *primero alkal,* first judge; *sčebal alkal,* second judge; *čeb 'suplente alkal,* two assistant judges. In the *rehiroletik* category there are: *primero rehirol,* first regidor; *sčebal rehirol,* second regidor; *yošebal rehirol,* third regidor; *čanebal rehirol,* fourth regidor. In the *mayoletik* category there are: *primero mayol,* first policeman; *sčebal mayol,* second policeman; *yošebal mayol,* third policeman; *sčanebal mayol,* fourth policeman; and *spoil mayol,* last policeman.

Cutting across this ranked hierarchy of officials are two geographical divisions; these align officials according to the side of the dual division in which they reside and which they represent. There is one judge from the upper division, *ahk'olnantik,* and one from the lower division, *alannantik.* The first judge is chosen in alternate years from one or the other of the two divisions, and so on for each rank of judges and regidores. There are two sets of five police, one from each side of the dual division serving in alternating weeks. The two assistant judges are chosen from the barrios Magronal and Bočibal. They never attain the first two positions. In addition to this regular ladder

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In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?"

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out.

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below.

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alferéces (or captains, the Spanish term *alferece* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre-

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sented by an elder *tatil martoma* and a junior *nič'anil martoma*, and that the 15 mayordomos were further ranked in terms of the four major saints, the *mas mamališ* or more senior, whose mayordomos are referred to as *kobraria*, cofradías or brotherhoods, and the remaining as mayordomos. The four *kobrarias* were ranked in terms of the importance and expense of the saint whom they support. The order for Tzo?ontahal is Sacramento *(Sakramentu)*, Virgin Santa

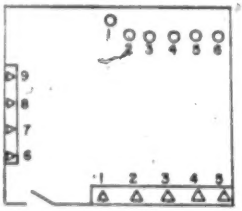

CHART 2 — EVENING, DECEMBER 31, HOUSE OF NEW JUDGE (ELICITED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Me?il K'op)*
2 Wife of president *(Yinam Presirente)*
3-6 Wives of juniors *(Yinam Nič'anil)*

MEN (triangles):
1 Leading house official *(Stalal Nakawane)*
2 New judge *(Aľ Alkal)*
3-5 Assistants, sons of judge *(Balnialetik)*
6-9 Woodgatherers *(Akš?etik)*

Lucia *(Halal Me?tik Santalusia)*, San Pedro Martyr *(Tatik Martil)*, and San Francisco *(Tatik Sanprasisku)*. There was complete agreement among the three informants questioned regarding this rank order, but for rank order of the 12 remaining mayordomos in charge of the 19 lesser saints there was no agreement between informants, and even the same informant was inconsistent in different eliciting sessions.

Outside the traditional hierarchy is the *piškal* (in Spanish *fiscal*), who is the direct assistant of the priest and serves in an advisory capacity in charge of the church activities of the brotherhoods and mayordomos in the absence of the priest. This role was not elicited, but in my questioning about fiestas he was mentioned as performing a certain role. The incumbent in the past three years was serving as president for the third time, showing the scarcity of men with the needed literary skills. The fiscal is usually relieved of other posts while serving in office. Another set of roles external to the hierarchy are the *me?eletik* (or *resadoras*, the Spanish term for female prayermakers). These are usually widowed or single wo-

activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Sacramento.

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and religious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior

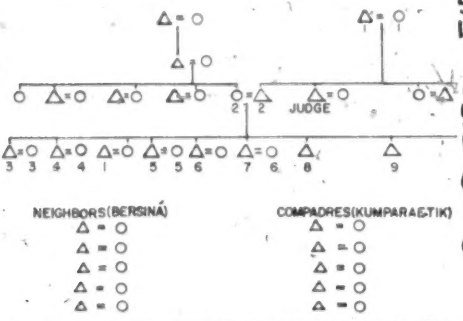

CHART 3 — ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

titles for mayordomos *(tatil* and *nič' anil martoma)* and in the use of *mas mamališ* (more senior) for higher rank offices.

The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is that of a core of officeholders in three ranked segments (Chart 1). This is coded in the group terms for officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayermakers, are elicited only with repeated questioning or with reference to some event in which they function. These roles differ from those mentioned first in that they are either of little significance to the individual informant (this would explain the consistent omission of the rural judge by the people of the center) or are not part of the required posts incumbent upon every male household head to undertake (this might explain the omission of the president, síndico, principales and fiscales in the first eliciting session). Structural principles made explicit by the informants are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in representation of the dual division. An implicit corollary of passage through offices beginning with lower ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other structural aspects emerged in the description of behavior, described below.

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INFORMANTS' SEGMENTATION of behavior in the inauguration of civil and religious officials is based on responses to questions in Appendices 1 and 2. The description of the activities is organized in

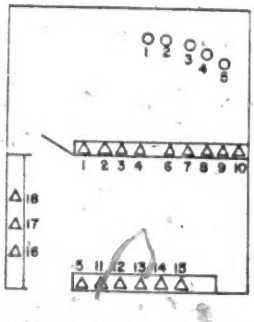

CHART 4 — MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF FIRST JUDGE (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Me?il K'op)*
2 Second woman *(Sčebal sme?)*
3 Third woman *(Yolebal sme?)*
4, 5 Women *(Me?eletik)*

MEN (triangles):
1-4 Nakawane
5 First judge *(Mam primeró Alkal)*
6 Second judge *(Alkal Sčebal)*
7 Assistant judge of La Grandeza *(Hwes Suplente Bočibal)*
8 Assistant judge of Madronal *(Hwes Suplente Magronal)*
9 Assistant judge of San Caralampio *(Hwes Suplente Sankaralampio)*
10 Assistant judge of San Vicente *(Hwes Suplente San Bisente)*
11 First regidor *(Rehirol Primero)*
12 Second regidor *(Rihirol Sčebal)*
13 Síndico *(Sintiku)*
14 Third regidor *(Rehirol Yolebal)*
15 Fourth regidor *(Rehirol Sčanebal)*
16 *Bulnial*
17 Liquor pourer *(P'is Ha?)*
18 *Bulnial*

terms of settings and roles. For each segment of behavior an attempt will be made to analyze how the structural relations and values are spelled out in spatial location, mode of address, and activity.

The settings in which the change of civil officials is carried out are (1) the houses of the incoming officials, (2) the townhall, (3) the plaza, and (4) the church. In each arena, the validation and support of

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Most ethnographic reports on the civil-religious hierarchy emphasize status and the functional goal of community integration. What we have failed to impart is the dynamic aspect of status, role. In the divergences between expected and enacted patterns of behavior in those occasions when the individual

Chart 10 — NEW YEAR'S DAY PROCESSION OF NEW OFFICIALS (OBSERVED)

Officials:
29, 30, 31 Comisarios of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Cruz Quemada

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Charts 7 and 9.

"puts into effect the rights and duties which constitute the status" (Linton, 1936, p. 114), we have micrometers to the measurement of change. The details of change may be small—for example, a shift in the lineup of officials in a procession—but it may be a clue to important organizational changes. The behavioral changes in details of this sort provide cues to eliciting information that will explain the divergences. An important supplement to these cues are the unsolicited comments of informants. Sometimes

[P 222-A]

these apparently irrelevant comments reveal the power play going on behind the scene of the ritual. 621* 178

The observed schedule for the civil inauguration (App. 1, column 4) differed from the elicited in four details. The first of these was an item omitted by both informants: after liquor was served in the house of the president, the entire company stood up and "turned toward the wall" (App. 1, Q. 20). When I questioned my informant, he corrected the orientation "toward the wall" and said that they were turning toward the east in deference to the leader of all the saints of the east, led by Santo Apio. He said that it was done in all household celebrations in order "to be sure that the devil does not enter." Belief concerning these saints is fragmentary, and perhaps because of this, behavior relating to them is not easily recalled. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system they once dramatized, survive in "perpetuating the custom of the ancestors" *(hič sluwar hič likem me?tiktatik)*. 124 [776]

Another detail not mentioned by informants was the presence in the house of the president of the rural colonia inhabitants (Chart 6). This omission is typical of the neglect in reporting the activity or presence of anyone other than residents of the center. When I asked what they were doing there, I was told they came "to know the president." 124 632 622 574

Finally, an important divergence from expected behavior occurred when the schoolteacher, instead of the secretary, delivered the oath of office. This change was evidence of the schoolteacher's success in a factional struggle developing around new economic enterprises in the town. The former Ladino secretary was in close alliance with the former president and had supporters in the group of 20 co-owners, Indians from the village, of the truck when he had purchased. When the incoming president with his brother bought a truck with the assistance of 30 members of a truck-owning cooperative, a new focus for factional strife appeared in the town. The new cooperative was supported by the schoolteacher in his own bid for power. When the truck owners ran into any difficulty with the highway patrol, carrying wood or passengers without permit, the driver would refer them to the schoolteacher, who would then claim it 621* 875 178 578 621* 578 494 875 494

[P. 222-B]

Three years before [in 1961] my father was the *tatik* of Sacramento. One day he and the other mayordomos were drinking at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The *tatik* replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered in the yard of the church. They threatened the priest with this and he went back into the church. He announced that he would not give Mass, or perform wedding or baptismal ceremonies. We did not mind if he did not give the Mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they

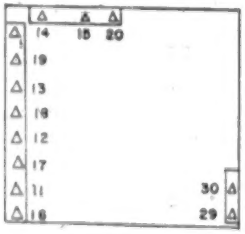

CHART 12 — KITCHEN OF POLICE, AFTER CHURCH (ELICITED)

Numbers refer to role terms listed in Charts 7 and 10.

would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for the priest without payment. We pay him 15 pesos for an ordinary Mass and 40 pesos for a sung Mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.

My informant had not realized that the ban affected eating in the yard of the church, but it was implied because liquor is served before the meal "to prepare the stomach" *(ya ?tal skoip we?eletik)* and after the meal "to wash down the food" *(ya?lel we?elil)*.

The statement on who defines what performances, and in what setting, provides an index to the locus of power. The priest is gaining more control over the building, maintenance, and developments around the church. The mayordomos give at least a half-day's labor to the priest's projects each Sunday. When they cannot work, they must pay the elder *kobraria* two pesos for a half-day's work missed, or 4 pesos for a full day. The proceeds are used to buy liquor, which the mayordomos drink. Thus the social control is ex-

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Thus the social control is exerted through the traditional hierarchy, but the benefits of the labor go toward the priest's projects. The priest speaks with some satisfaction of the increasing control the "church" (he) has over the people. He maintains that this is because the people are more "civilized." For him, the indices to civilization are the facts that there is no drinking in the church, there is greater attendance at Mass, and more people are wearing Ladino clothing.

The second divergence in the elicited and observed accounts for the religious inauguration occurred when the civil officials, including the town secretary and síndico, assisted the religious officials in counting the money collected for the fiesta.

An important supplement to the behavorial data were the unsolicited comments of informants. Their anecdotes often gave me clues to their involvement in the gamesmanship of operating within culturally defined patterns. Although the informant focuses on the formal question, his growing boredom with the sequence (Who sat next to him? What did they do next? Who was there?) leads him to muse about the associated ideas and images which did interest him, often self-damaging or negative aspects of the culture which he might want to hide if questioned directly. The technique resembles that of the astronomer instructing the novice stargazer: "If you want to see the Pleiades, look at Jupiter, and out of the corner of your eye the nebulous cluster of stars of the Pleiades becomes visible."

The following illustrates how this free association emerged in the formal eliciting procedure:

Informant 2 constantly reiterated the danger his brother would encounter in undertaking the post of president as we discussed inauguration procedures. For example, when he gave me a list of participants at the Judge's house when his father took on that post, he mentioned the name of a widow, Cika, and provided the unsolicited information that her husband had been shot on December 16, 1963, the fiesta of Halal Me?tik Santalusia. Informant's statement: "He did not know he had an enemy, and so he walked alone that night. Each fiesta someone is killed. During the fiesta of San Francisco this year, another man in Bočibal was killed. No one knows why. He was knifed with a machete. I never go out alone at night because of the fights with the cooperative. They [the members of the opposing cooperative] are very hard (*ha? ben bolik*). They claim they will kill us."

What prompted the next revelation was my com-

Change of Officials

ment, engrossed as I was in the task of eliciting the formal sequence of events, "Quiet, S.; let's get on with the fiesta." He persisted in what interested him. 124.

Eleven years ago they [who? enemies?] tried to get me. I had a piece of land in hot country. My house here was not ready, but the wood was ready. M. C., a neighbor was jealous [*šil yo?tan*, 'saw his heart']. He had caused another neighbor's illness. He was my wife's *mu?* [literally 'brother-in-law,' in this case the informant's wife's ta's sis's husband]. He didn't have corn or beans. He was jealous because of my crops and the big house I was going to build. 124 578 754 [601] [602]

By now I was asking questions and taking notes. I interposed, "How did you know?" 124 578 754

I knew because when I got sick, the curer (who was the dead husband of the widow who came to the judges' house) told me. The *cabron* (goat) witches leave their signature in the blood *(yak hilel firma ta čič?)*. Then I went to a curer in Chamula who confirmed it. 756

"How did he speak to you?" 124

In Tzotzil. Then I went to Las Casas. Another curer, also a Chamulteco, said, "Here is his signature in your blood. He is working alone." On January 7 I fell in bed. All month from January to the 19th of April I was very sick. I went to Cruz Quemada (colonia of Tzo?ontahal) where F. G. cured me. He burned candles at the curing arch and prayed. 578 755 756 [782]

"Whom did he pray to?"

The hills, the holy land. Then I got well, but I was very tired. My Šwana [wife, Juana] told me "He is going to kill you." I had a rifle. I filled it and went out, but then I returned. Another day I took two measures of trago, took my rifle and went to his house. He was sleeping with his wife close to him in bed, the way we sleep here. I fired four times. The bullets went in his back and came out front. One entered the arm of his wife. Now people say of me I am a killer. I went to the townhall for the enquiry. The man's wife said the door [of the house] was open. She said she did not see me. Afterward I got well. If I hadn't killed him, I never would have lived. Now I am having more trouble first because of the cooperative, then because of my brother being president, and then the comisario. Let us see what will happen this year. If God lends us our life, there are going to be protests. We will walk with our pistols. Spet [wife of Ladino owner of opposing cooperative] gave 1000 pesos to a man from Magronal to kill me. 124 578 682

"How do you know?"

My compadre came and told me. Who knows how many deaths there will be!

[P 225-A]

"Why don't you call in the civil guard?" 124 •

They will say we are women, that we are afraid. My brother wants to, however. 578 682

He communicated several things in this deviation from the eliciting schedule:

Many assassinations are committed regularly in Tzo?ontahal.
They usually occur at fiestas.
The only recourse is to kill one's enemy.
I am a killer, therefore I am prepared to protect myself.
Everyone knows I am a killer.
When I killed, it wasn't a murder but an execution.

796 794 608 554

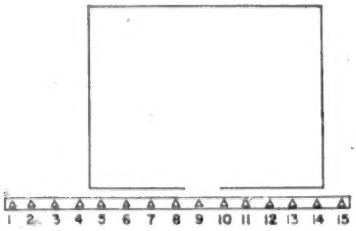

CHART 13 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF THE VIRGIN SANTA LUCIA, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:

1 Cofrade of Virgin Santa Lucia *(Kobraria Halal Me?tik)*
2 Elder of San Pedro Martyr *(Tatil Yu?un Martil)*
3 Assistant junior for Sacramento *(Ali?bal Nič'nal yu?un Sakramentú)*
4 Assistant junior for Virgin Santa Lucia *(Ali?bal Nič'nal yu?un Halal Me?tik)*
5 Elder for the Christ of the Ascension *(Tatil yu?un Tatik Sanpransiskú)*
6 Elder for San Antonio *(Tatil yu?un Sanantonió)*
7 Elder for Virgin Rosario *(Tatil Halal Me?tik Rosario)*
8 Elder for Santiago *(Tatil yu?un Santiagú)*
9 Elder for San Jose *(Tatil yu?un Sanhosé)*
10 Junior for San Antonio *(Nič'nal yu?un Sanantonió)*
11 Junior for Santiago *(Nič'nal yu?un Santiagú)*
12 Junior for San Pedro Martyr *(Nič'nal yu?un Martil)*
13 Junior for Virgin Rosario *(Nič'nal yu?un Me?tik Rosario)*
14 Junior for San Jose *(Nič'nal yu?un Sanhosé)*
15 Junior for Christ of the Ascension *(Nič'nal yu?un Sanpransiskú)*

Since the informant expected that there might be an attempt made on his life in the approaching inaugural ceremony, he was advertising his own strength and willingness to defend himself even if it meant killing his enemy. I was an audience for him to try on poses of self-assertion. 124 578 [123]

[p. 225-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 197,0 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

This kind of information, crucial to understanding 124 •
the play in action, is not a controlled response. The
stimulus which provoked it is unscientific, i.e., non-
replicable and unpredictive (in this case it was "Be
quiet").[12] The struggle for political office within the ooo

[12] It can be contrasted with Skinner's control of behavior in evoking the response "pencil," in which first the request is made to the subject, "Please say pencil." If there is no response, one first makes sure that no pencil or writing instrument is available, then hands the subject a pad of paper appropriate to pencil sketching and offers him a handsome reward for a recognizable picture of, say, a cat. He is then forced to ask for a pencil. (Chomsky, 1959, p. 32.)

[P. 226-A]

9 Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 1 — CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE TOWNHALL

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE?ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
*621 124 796	1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *?ač ha?bil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
	2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
[252]	3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
[353]	4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
[602]	5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*kermanotak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
	6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
*621 124 796	7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
574	8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pitchpine	They bring wood or pitchpine	
[272] [242]	9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
[273]	10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
*621 124 796 [693]	11. Who is present in the house of the new officials?		*ttatal* **makawene**, his leading house official, Baltol Kantiron. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *bakwal*, assistants to pass gruel, sons of the new officials *?ak ti?ctik*: wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
[624]	12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
#62 124 796 624	13. What time does he begin to raise the officials?		He gets up early about 6 A.M.	
	14. How does the fourth regidor raise the other officials?	First he goes to get the third regidor. Then they go to the second. The three go to collect the first. After all are together, the four go to the house of the first judge	The fourth regidor goes to the house of the third regidor. They leave and go to the house of the second regidor, then to the house of the first regidor. Then they go to the síndico's house. Leave and go to the house of the judge	
#62 124 796 693	15. How do the judges join together?	First the two assistant judges call on the second judge. Then the three go to the house of the first judge	The assistant judge for Ahk'olnantik goes to raise assistant for Alannantik. The two go to the house of the second judge. Then they go to the house of the first judge	I arrived at 9:30 at the house of the first alcalde. Present were the following (see Chart 3)
[293]	16. What do the judges do in the house of the first judge?	They drink liquor. They await the arrival of the four regidores	They drink liquor	Before serving liquor the first judge gave the benediction for the liquor (*paʔoʔan yil rmahtanil*) with the first *nakawane*. His godchild *ahijado shalal nupune*, of marriage, and his brother-in-law Lucian Kut poured liquor. He served cigarettes. Two liters of liquor were drunk here before going to house of president
[292]	17. What do they do then?	They go to the house of the president (see Chart 4)	Go to the house of the president	Assembled company prepared to leave at 10:10. The first judge puts on his plain red kerchief. The assistant judges put on flowered red kerchiefs. First judge said goodbye to the *nakawane*. This formal adieu, the *rpat lokʼyoʔtʼan*. Regidores stood up and came out. Then the assistant judge arrived at the house of President 10:30. (Chart 6)
[576]				
#62 124 796 693 576	18. What do they do when they enter the house of the president?	The first judge gives the *rpat yoʔtʼan* with the first nakawane	The first regidor gives the *paʔoʔan*	First judge speaks with *meʔil kʼop* who stood at door of inner room. The *nakawanchetik* bowed and kissed hands with the first and second alcaldes
[528] [539]	19. How do they give the *rpat yoʔtʼanik* at his house the president?	They sing what they will do for the year	Holy evening, mamtat, your health. God how does He see you, mamtat. You are alive speak God holy evening. Behind your heart no illness I hear this holy evening.	(See Chart 6 for seating at house of president)

[p. 231]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

#621
124
796
693
576
539

(Judge) I live. There is no illness. Lord mamtat give pardon with God with the Virgin Mother (*Tioi sok Halal me?tik*). Enter holy pardon lord, give pardon Virgin Mother

Here we are gathered before you where is seated "our soil our mud" (our bodies). What are we going to do to make arrive to fall to happen holy New Year our patron of heaven (*kah-waltik*) God. Here in a little dawns the holy hour. Let us go look before our heart where we are going to receive the holy oath inside of the holy cold house the cold hall where we go to receive our suffering our work holy staff, holy wand. It is going to change, holy day, holy year. Thus we do as did in the past our mother our father

20. What do they do after the greeting?

They drink coffee

They drink coffee

#621
124
796
264
292
262
693

At 10:45 served bread set on bowl of coffee and bean tortilla in a cloth wrapping. First served *nakawanchetik* then president, then first and second judge, then first and second regidor, then assistant judge, then visitors. At 10:55 *nakawane* got up and stood before first judge and spoke the *spalan mat* (account of the gruel). Then the first judge spoke the *spalan mat* to second judge. The first two regidores of the past year came in to ask if the new officials were now ready "to raise the change" (*K'a s?at'hal yak helol*). They said *pat?ot'an* before the *nakawane*. Then bowed and kissed hand (*kue' ibale*) with all men in left interior. Went to door and spoke with *me?il k'op*, *kue' ibale* with her.

At 11:15 *balnialelik* took out the table, laid embroidered cloth on it, put 3 liters of trago and 2 quarts of beer. The first *nakawane* did the *spalanbe makian me'il tatil* with the first judge standing before him. Then the first

#621
124
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[293]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
*62 124 796 693 576 [788]			judge got up and stood before the second judge and did the *spalanbe soltak tuyipal č'in mahtanil* (account to company for the little gift. He then went to the first *nakawane* with the *sak'inal* (good day greeting). Then all the assembled company stood up and turn to wall and gave the benediction to the gift of the ancestors
21. Why do they stand and turn to the wall?	Not asked—preceded observation	Not asked	So that the devil does not enter
*62 124 796 [273] [693]	22. What do they do after they drink coffee?	They drink liquor seated, resting their heart, in the entry of the house of the president	Drink liquor to await the hour they go to the cabildo	Two beers and 2 liters liquor were laid to rest. At 11:55 women came in to get liters of liquor. Put it under a kerchief and took it out to women in kitchen. Judges and regidores put on red kerchiefs. At 12 noon two judges got up and said goodbye, first to the *balnial* then the first judge went to the *nakawane* while the second judge and two regidores followed behind him. Then together the four said goodbye to the *nakawane* and to the *me?il k'op*. Firecrackers were set off to advise police that the group was setting out on their way to the town hall. Police were to meet them at the townhall and had to be advised so that they would arrive at the same time.
[202] [625]			Two past regidores came to the *me?il k'op* and said goodbye. The group set out together
[23. Omitted.]			
*62 124 788 796 [693]	24. How do they enter the townhall?	They enter two by two. They kneel and cross themselves at the door of the cabildo	They enter two by two, kneel at the door. They rise, enter, arrive, kneel before the *tatik* table	Pair by pair they entered and touched cross of banner with their rosaries. First the president and síndico then first and second judges followed by judges from Madronal, La Grandeza, San Vicente, and Cruz Quemada
25. Why do they cross themselves?	Because they show respect to the holy cross		

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*62 124 796 [798]	26. What do they do in the townhall?	They take the oath		
	27. How is the townhall arranged?	The four holy crosses brought by the alfereses and the holy staffs are on the *tatik* table		On the table were 4 banners, new staffs, key of cabildo laid on orange leaves sprinkled about on table.
	28. Who is in the townhall?	There are gathered the old officials *(mamal k'a hu?ele-tik)* and the two principales *(mamal krinsipaletik)* and the four alfereces *(alperesil)*. (See Chart 7)	It is the old officials	(See Chart 8)
	29. What are the old officials doing?	They are seated conversing		
*62 124 796 64 [782]	30. How do they take the oath?	They take from the *tatik* table what they give the oath for—the four holy crosses and the four staffs.	Standing, the new officials call the name of God. They form a line before the banners	New president ordered new officials to form a circle around table. Then the martomoreys prayed holding rosary in hand
[273]	31. Who passes the staffs *(sbaratik me?tiktatik)*?	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials. They encircle hand with rosary and take their staff	Two principales handed out staffs first to president, then first judge, second judge, assistant judge, regidores and police. The second principal was very drunk and had to be directed by former president
*62 124 796 641 875 539	32. Who gave the oath?		The secretary	The schoolteacher
	32a. What does the schoolteacher say when he gives the oath?			Gentlemen, by the will of the pueblo, the government of the state leaves us in charge of the officers before us. The president is in charge of the pueblo during the three years from this one on, 1965, –66, –67. This pueblo has the obligation of helping him in the organization of all his works. It has the obligation of respecting his command, and the authorities that are going to work with him also have the obligation of respecting him because he is the first authority. All of us who belong to the pueblo and all the societies have the obligation of respecting him just as the assistant authorities fulfill his orders because he is the primary authority. Raise the right hand, repeat after me: In the name of the government of the state with the honor that characterizes them I swear to fulfill with honor

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APPENDIX I—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
				and enthusiasm what the constitution commands us. I want in this moment, under the oath, to designate the position of municipal president of the pueblo
[875] [539]	33. How did new officials respond to oath?			Officials raised hands with rosary in it. Then they put rosary on their necks
#62 124 796	34. What do they do after the oath?		Pass over the papers with the acts, with all the things	Take inventory of communal possessions—5 chairs in bad estate, 2 *codigo viejo*, etc.
	35. Who takes inventory?			The past president
#62 124 796 [533] [788]	36. What do they do after they take their staffs the new officials?	The four alfereces go out with their banners	The alfereces go out in a procession with the banners	First alferez came to table, crossed himself, kissed banner with kerchief bound on handle, unfurled banner. He followed with second, third, and fourth alfereces. Flute and drum began as alfereces came out. They turned and faced the townhall. Inclining banners the police went out, knelt, crossed selves at door. Then the regidores, then president, then síndico and judges
#62 124 796 788	37. What time did the procession begin?			1:05
	38. What did the procession look like?	(Chart 9)		(Chart 10)
	39. How many turns do they take?		They take two turns where the fruit is sold (reference to plaza during a ceremony)	Two turns (started behind school house but old *naka-wane* redirected them)
	40. What did the alfereces do?			At door of the townhall, drew up horses facing it, dipped banners. Same at church
	41. Where does the procession go?	To the church	They go to the church	They enter the church
#62 124 796 [624] [782] [794]	42. Who remains at the townhall?		The officials come out, leaving all the townhall silent except for the two principales who will await the new officials	The two principales remain within
	43. What do they do in the church?	All the officials speak to God (Chart 11)	They speak to God. They kiss all the saints	They pray at the altar, then kiss the saints as they leave. The alfereces leave their banners in the church

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*621 124 796	44. Where do the old officials go?	To the house of the old president or to the house of the former first judge		
	45. What do they do there?	They go to say goodbye		
	46. What do their hearts say?	Their hearts are very sad		
	47. Why do they kiss all the people present?		Because they want a miracle in order that there be no illness to pass in office	
*621 124 794 796	48. Who is in the church?	The mayordomos are in the church		The mayordomos sit at the bench in back of the church
	49. What are the mayordomos doing?	They are seated at the door of the church. They watch the new officials enter the church		
	50. Why are they seated in the church?	In order to know who will be the new officials to see *(ya ?il)* in the townhall		
*621 124 796	51. Where do the new officials go when they come out of the church?	The new police enter inside the kitchen (Chart 12). The president enters inside the townhall	Leave church and pass to the townhall	The police go to the kitchen attached to the townhall and the rest of the officials go into the townhall
[539] [693]	52. What does the president say to the two principales inside the cabildo?	"Where are you, *Mamal principal?*"	First judge gives *patbeyo?t'an* with the two principales. "Good day, tat. How does God see you, tat. Now you have taken your heart, has spoken your heart. Now you have been before the face of the motherfather. Where you take the holy oath inside the holy cold house, holy cold abode. You saw the procession in the plaza before the temple and inside the holy mother church for the commander lord. There is no fear, no embarrassment. That is all. Go rest your heart	[I was not present for these sessions]
	53. What does the principal reply?	"Enter, Mr. new president *(mamal ?ač' presirente)* and enter, Mr. New judges *(mamal ?ač' alkaletik)*"		
*621 124 273 796 693	54. What do they do then?	They sit a little each in his own chair	They sit down. They begin to drink liquor	
	55. What do they do after they have rested their heart a little?	The first judge and the president order the fourth regidor to go get a liter of trago		
	56. For whom do they get the liter of the gift?	For the new officials		
	57. What do they do with the gift when the regidor arrives?	They put it in the middle *(ta yolil komun)*		

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
621 124 796 539 693 273	58. What do the principales say to the first judge in the cabildo on the New Year?	They give the *spatbeyo?t'an*		
	59. What does the judge say when he gives the gift to the principales?	"Give pardon, mamal *krinsipal*. Let a little enter to give warmth to your body"		
	60. What do the principales say?	"Thank you, *two mamal alkal, mamal presirente, mamal sintiku*"		
	61. What does the judge say?	"Pardon and let a little drink warm your body"		
	62. What does the judge say to the regidor?	"Lend me your hand, *mamal rehirol skanebal* (second regidor). Look, pour the gift of the ancestors *(me?tiktatik)* for the *mamal krinsipaletik*"		
	63. What does the fourth regidor say as he pours the gift for the principal?	"With your permission, *mamal krinsipal, mamal ?alkaletik*, I look and give the gift"		
621 124 796 693 273	64. Who drinks first on New Year in the townhall?	The two principales		
	65. Second?	President		
	66. Third?	Síndico		
	67. Fourth?	First judge		
	68. Fifth?	Second judge		
	69. Sixth?	Third judge		
	70. Seventh?	Fourth judge		
	71. Eighth?	First regidor		
	72. Ninth?	Second regidor		
	73. Tenth?	Third regidor		
	74. Eleventh?	Fourth regidor		
	75. What do they do after the first round of drinks?	They continue drinking until they get a little drunk		
	76. What happens at noon?	They close the doors of the townhall		
	77. What do the police do in the kitchen?	They enter and sit on a bench		
	78. Where do they sit?	(Chart 11)		
	79. What is the first order that he gives the first new police?	He sends the fourth police to bring a little liquor		
	80. What do they do when the fourth returns?	He orders a police of the colonia to "measure" the liquor		

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*62 124 796 213

81. What do they do after the commissioner of the colonia measures the drink?	The first police of Alannantik gets up and speaks a little with the first police of Ahk'olnantik	
82. What does he say?	He gives the *spatbe yo?t'an*	
83. What time do they finish the celebration of New Year's?	12 o'clock noon	
84. What does he say after the *spatbe yo?t'an?*	He asks if they can endure a little more	
85. What do the police think?	They ask whether they can endure a little more without getting drunk. "What happens if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the *mamal ?alkaletik* and we might not be able to help. Better to rest the heart a little. If there is an errand we can help a little and so it is. If there is no errand, let us stay till noon"	
86. What do they do then?	They finish a little more. Then after a little all go out because it is midday. Each one goes to his house to rest the heart and until tomorrow	Drinking continued until sundown

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Appendix 2—Change of Officials in the Holy House

Question	Informant 3	Observation
1. What is the first day of the fiesta called?	*Pas Kantelero*, 'Making the candles'	
2. What do the mayordomos do first on Paswamal of the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	They scrape the candles	At 9 A.M. the mayordomos were gathered at the door of the church, scraping the candles. The wax was carefully gathered. It will be melted down to make more candles, but not for ceremonial purposes.
3. What else do they do in the morning of Paswamal?	Two mayordomos beat the drum and one blows the flute	Music was provided by two mayordomos beating drum and one blowing flute
4. Where do they scrape the candles?	Inside the church	In the courtyard of the church
5. Where do they blow the flute?	At the door of the church	On the benches near the door of the church
6. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	They sweep out the church	They sweep the church
7. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	Nothing. Formerly they bought juniper needles to put on the floor inside the church but now they do not	
8. Why don't they bring pine needles now?	Because now the floor of the church is well finished with pure cement	
9. What do they do after they finish scraping the candles?	They count the money	The fiscal spent the morning sitting on the benches outside the church with the elder mayordomos watching the counting of money
10. What day do they collect the money?	On Sunday, eight days before the fiesta of San Pedro	
11. Who collects the money?	Two kobrarias	
12. How much do they collect from each mayordomo?	Two pesos each	
13. Why do they collect the money?	For the price of the candles	
14. Who counts the money to buy the candles?	Two kobrarias with the fiscal	
15. What do they do at noon?	They ring the bells. They all begin to drink liquor *(ya?alik)*	They ring the bells. Then they go to the house of the *?ali?bal*
16. What do they call the first drink at midday?	One measure to make the food go down *(sko?ip we?eletik)*	
17. What do they call the drink after the meal?	Water for the meal *(ya?lel we?elil)*	
18. How many liters of liquor do the mayordomos drink on Paswamal?	Two liters	

19.	Where do they drink it?	Behind the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
20.	Where do the old mayordomos eat the common meal?	In the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
21.	What do they eat?	Male turkey (*mam kox*). Beef soup with tortillas and chile	
22.	How do they prepare turkey?	With chile, *yerba buena* and salt	
23.	Who prepares the meal for the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	The *?ali?bal*. The wife of the *Biktal* (minor) mayordomo of San Pedro and San Pablo	
24.	What do they do after the common meal?	They go to their homes	They go home
25.	What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wiiperei	
26.	What do the old mayordomos do first?	They make a fiesta. They beat the drums. They play the flute. They drink trago.	They ring the bells three times. The people gather in the church
27.	What time do they begin the fiesta?	Early	At 7 o'clock
28.	What do they do in the church?		The padre gives a Mass for San Pedro and San Pablo
29.	Who collects for the Mass?		The old officials and the new officials and the women
30.	Where do the mayordomos blow the flute and beat the drum?	At the door of the church	In front of the church
31.	Where do the new mayordomos gather first?	At the house of the kobraria Santa Lucia	At the house of the kobraria of Santa Lucia
32.	What do they do first?	They take out the mouthwash	They serve the mouthwash
33.	What do they do then?	They take out a liter to drink	They serve coffee and corn gruel. Then they serve liquor
34.	How much do the new mayordomos drink?	Two drinks each	After two rounds are served, drink is served to the mayordomos who go to the *nakawanektik* and offer their drinks. This is done so that the new officials will not be drunk in church
35.	How many of the new mayordomos don't drink liquor?	Three	
36.	What do they drink?	Cold water (soda)	
37.	What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr at his house when they begin to drink?	Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal. Thanks you are alive, his word God, at daybreak. We want to see no illness at daybreak. What we will do what we have done. We have to say what our heart says, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our Judge Sanpegro sanpablu? So it is that we	

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APPENDIX 2—*continued*

QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
794 796 124 539	are here and that we are united in front of the house. Pardon us, it is not much, *me?el tatei*. Where we are gathered together there is nothing flavorful nor is there much. It is only a little to warm your body, of the water to wash his body his hand our old saint San Pedro and San Pablo. God thank mother and father *(me?a ta tat?a)* mam kobraria	
38. What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the Tatil Sanpegro Martil and the mayordomos when they all go out?	What are we thinking? How shall we rise to enter the house of kobraria Sakramentu? How is it he wants us not to drink? It is good we would not remember. It is enough. If you will remember you will say little, mayordomos. Are we not ready with our rosaries, with our kerchiefs, for candles? Is there anything you want to say?	
39. What does the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr say?	It is good, I am going to say. Now I am going to say to all if you are ready with your rotary with your cloth to take the holy candles	The *mayordomos* put on their rosaries and red kerchiefs
40. What do the mayordomos reply?	Yes, good, we are ready thank you. It is only this more I say to you	
41. What does the kobraria say then?	Do not drink much trago. I do not want you to walk like a mad man *(tak ?alel lihkel)*. I do not want you to say the kobraria said nothing	
42. What do the mayordomos reply?	Yes, thanks. It is good. Let us go now. Let us raise our mud our soil	
43. Where do they go then?	To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento	To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
44. What do they say there?	"Good day *mamal*," each one	Good day, *mamal tat*
45. What time do they go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?	At 8 o'clock	9 A.M.
794 796 124 46. In what order do they speak to the people at his house the kobraria of Sacramento?		First to the two *halnials*. Then to the third *nakawane*. Then to the second *nakawane*. Then to the first *nakawane*
47. What do they say after the *sak'inal*?		The kobraria of *Halal me?etik* gives the *spat yo?t'an* with the first *nakawane*
48. What (does he say) after *spat yo?t'an*?		He goes to give account to the old woman who nursed us *(me?E'ukasail)* who is the *me?il k'op* in the house

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49. Who is the woman speaker? — She is the first elder sister of the mother of the mam kobraria. She has the same mother and father as the father the mam kobraria

50. Who are the women inside the house of the kobraria of Sacramento? — Two or three sisters of the kobraria

51. What do his sisters *(yermanotak)* do inside his house? — They sit on the bench on the porch

52. What do the mayordomos do after the account with the *meʔEʔukalailetik*? — They sit on the bench on the porch

53. What does the *nakawane* do? — He tells the *balnial* to take out the mouthwash

54. What do they give after the mouthwash? — First the coffee with the bean tortillas

55. What do they give after the coffee? — They give another mouthwash

56. What do the *balnialetik* do after the mouthwash? — They take out the table with the cloth

[273] 57. What do they do then? — They take out 2 or 3 liters of trago with the measure and a little cold water

58. Who orders the women inside? — *MeʔEʔukalail*

59. What do they do before they begin to drink? — The kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia gives the *spatbe yoʔtan* He rises to ask permission before the *meʔEʔukalailetik*, all the mayordomos and all the *balnialetik*

[539] 60. What does the kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia say then? — God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us. The water of his body the water of his hand, the gift will pass in your body that which is the mothers' fathers' *(meʔtiktatik)*. God speaks, *tat nakawanehetik* and *balnialetik*. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the *meʔtiktatik*. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander god is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of god the father. God take the gift, *meʔel tatel*

61. What do they do then? — The mayordomos, *balnialetik* and *nakawanetik* measure their noses.

62. What does the *meʔEʔukalail* say? — God thank Mamal Tat

63. Then what does the kobraria of the Virgin Santa Lucia say? — He gives the benediction to the liquor

[539] 64. What is the benediction? — In God's name, God father, name of God, God son, Holy spirit. Yes, I can endure to do what they did, that which the mother, which the father

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APPENDIX 2—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
794 796 124 [539]			did with the hand which has sinned, the feet which have sinned. Yes, I am changing holy day holy year, holy saint holy oath and the name of the god the father
[213]	65. How much do the mayordomos drink?		They drink four measures. After four measures they do not finish and give the rest to *mamal nakawanchetik*
	66. Why do they do this?		Because it is said they may get drunk at the hour to go to church
	67. What time do they go to the church?	At 10 o'clock	At 11 left for church. Put on red kerchiefs, rosaries
[539]	68. What does the *nakawane* say to the new mayordomos as they leave to go to church?		May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath you measure the nose in the face of the *tatik* Jesus Christ. After you have measured the noses, when you enter inside the door of the church the mamal new kobraria speaks the *palanbetik* to the mamal old kobraria
	69. Who is at the church?	The old mayordomos	The old mayordomos are seated at the door of the church
[533]	70. What are they doing?	They are awaiting the new mayordomos	They play the drum and the flute
	71. How do they take the *huramentu* (oath)?		They enter and kneel each pair, *tatil* and *nič'anil* in front of *tatik* Jesus Christ.
	72. How do they stand?		(Chart 15)
	73. How is the church arranged?		There is a large table with the candles lined up. In the middle of the table stands a little holy Jesus hung on the cross
	74. Who is inside the church?		The priest, the fiscal, the old mayordomos
	75. What does the priest do?		He gives the Mass. He blesses the new and the old mayordomos
	76. What do they do after the blessing?		The fiscal gives the candles wrapped in a napkin
	77. How many candles does he give to each mayordomo?		Nine candles
	78. What are the candles for?		To light for the saints
	79. What does he do with the candles?		Goes and puts them in the elder officeholder's house. Returns and gets his own to bring to his house
	80. Where do they go after the oath?		To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento

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794	81. What do they do?		They drink
796	82. What time do they leave his house?		Prayer time *(oración)*
124	83. Where do they go?		To their house
[273]	84. What do they do first on *sk'ahk'alel*?		Go to hear Mass
	85. Who is in the church to hear Mass?		All the new mayordomos, the women, the prayer leaders
	86. What time is the Mass?		At 7 o'clock
	87. What do they do when they come out of Mass?		Go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
	88. How many go?		Thirteen
	89. What do the rest do?		Three juniors *(nič'anil)* remain play drum at door of church
	90. What do they do at the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?		Count the money of the Virgin and San Pedro Martyr
[426]	91. What do they do with the money?		They want to lend it in order to get interest because they want to increase it *(ya sk'an smahanik yu?un ya?be sol yu?un sk'an solin hilel)*
	92. How much money is there for the virgin?		Two hundred twenty-eight pesos
[624]	93. Who counts it?	Fiscal with two kobraria	The town treasurer, the síndico and secretary assisted the fiscal in the accounting of funds. The principales sat on the bench to observe proceedings
	94. How much money is there for San Pedro?	Forty pesos	
[624] [537]	95. What do they do after they count the money?	Begins the *pat?ot'an* with the kobraria of Sacramento	The principales recite the *pat?o?tan* with the kobraria of Sacramento
[273]	96. What do they do afterward?	They drink liquor	They drink liquor